1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
FF38 Katab FF38

A female child is sought in marriage almost as soon as she is born. Indeed, while a Katab woman is still enceinte, the father of a boy may come and ask that, should her child be a girl, she may be affianced to his son (and add that should it be a boy he would be glad if the mother would name him after himself, promising to regard him as a son). If the request is granted and the child proves to be a girl, the father of the boy fastens a few cowries on her wrist as a symbol of appropriation. In the ordinary way, however, the girl is sought in marriage when she is a few years old, and it is important to note that the suitor never approaches the father of the girl directly in the first instance. He goes to the father's brother, for it is the father's brother who has the chief say in the disposal of the girl's hand and who receives the bride-price, part of which only he hands on to the parents of the girl. If the girl has no paternal uncle her hand may be at the disposal of a male paternal cousin.[1] It is for this reason that a playmate relationship is not permitted between a man and a female cousin to whom he may one day stand in the relation of guardian. When the girl grows up, and perchance finds she dislikes her betrothed, she would, through her girl friends, make her parents aware of her distaste, and the engagement would be broken off. But such a course would be unusual, as the maiden, even on the marriage day, is too young to hold any strong opinions of her own. She is formally betrothed at the age of seven, the fiancé presenting four chickens to the bridegroom's father. In that and every succeeding year the bridegroom and his friends perform one day's collective work on the farm of the girl's father (or her uncle if she has been, as commonly happens, adopted by her father's brother or cousin). This farm work may be commuted for a cash payment. Two thousand cowries or their equivalent are also given to the girl's father, who keeps the major part for himself and distributes the balance among his male relatives, i.e. brothers and paternal cousins. The bride-price is 20,000 cowries given to the father (of which he keeps two-thirds for his own use, distributing the balance among his relatives). Before the final rites a goat must be presented to the girl's mother, three chickens to the father, and one hundred cowries to her maternal grandfather. The

[1] And sometimes maternal, though I omitted to obtain detailed instances.

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
FF38 Katab FF38

836 grown-up men should have sexual relations with legal wives who may be under 13 years of age.

836 Pre-marital cohabitation is not practised to any great extent; for it is taboo between fellow clansmen; and as most of the clans are localized a boy of one clan has little opportunity of 848 sleeping with a girl of another. In the quite exceptional case [847] of a girl conceiving by a youth who was not her betrothed, it was stated that resort might be had to abortifacients. If these were unsuccessful, the girl would be married off as quickly as possible to her fiancé, who would accept the child as his own. The child would suffer no legal disabilities, and in fact would occupy the privileged position of an "eldest son". *Per contra* this custom may explain why it is that, among the Hausa, the eldest son is treated as a stranger.

585 Katab girls are only married between October and March, i.e. during the dry season, and not (as among the Kagoro) during 591 a particular month of the wet season. The bride spends her first year in the hut of her husband's mother, sleeping with her husband at night. At the end of the year she is given her own hut and is provided by the husband's mother with the necessary 853 cooking utensils. After the birth of a child no sexual relations may occur between husband and wife until the child is weaned, 834 the reason for this rule being based on the observation that conception interferes with lactation.

584 It remains to add that members of the same sub-clan frequently assist each other in procuring wives. It is not 613 uncommon for a man to hand over to a friend the bride-price 431 obtained for his daughter or niece in order that the friend may have the means to provide himself with a wife. The money may be treated as a loan, but is often given as a free gift.

586 It has been indicated already that no Katab husband can be sure that his wife of to-day will be living with him one year 851 hence. She may be approached by a clansman of her husband (but belonging to another subdivision) and invited to share his life. If she prefers to remain with her husband she will say "No"; but if she wishes a change she will say "Yes", and refer him to her parents, to whom he will have to pay a bride-price. He may approach the parents in the first instance, and they may bring pressure to bear on their daughter. And so off she goes, perhaps enceinte by her first husband. It does not

According to Meek, Katab have adopted, apparently purely as a recreation, the *sharo* (*sharau, shado,* etc.) form of initiation ordeal, practised by some of the local Fulani "tribes," among whom, though it is not universally practised, the activity is to all appearances psycho-pathological in character, as it is carried out at the present time. The Katab, however, bind their bodies with cloth as protection against the cane-blows by their fellow-contestants, and *chadong gane*—as it is called in the vernacular—becomes a game of tag.

The taking of heads in war does not appear to have been regarded as a necessary condition to the status of adulthood, though an adult's status was enhanced by success in battle. (See also *Religious Beliefs and Practices,* below.)

Marriage

In the case of primary marriage, a girl may be engaged at birth, but normally she is sought in marriage when she is a few years old, through the father's brother or "a male paternal cousin," and "is formally betrothed at the age of seven." Payment and/or service are as follows: (1) four fowls to girl's father; (2) one day's labour, aided by suitor's friends, annually on farm of girl's father (or cash in lieu of service); (3) 2,000 cowries or their equivalent to the girl's father, who keeps the major part for himself and distributes the balance among his male relatives, i.e., brothers and paternal cousins; (4) presumably at the time of the actual wedding, an additional 20,000 cowries to the father (who keeps two-thirds for his use, distributing the balance among his relatives);[35] (5) before the final rites, a goat to the girl's mother, three fowls to the father, and 100 cowries to her maternal grandfather.[36] A date is then set by the girl's father for the wedding, which takes the form of capture, convincingly carried out, according to Meek: friends of the suitor seize the girl and leave her in the hut of a relative of the suitor, where she remains for three nights; on the fourth night, the marriage is consummated in the hut of her mother-in-law, where she lives until given her own hut at the end of the first year.

According to Meek, "many Katab girls" are married before puberty. Primary marriages always take place during the dry season (October-March), except in the rare case of an unseasonable pregnancy, when "the girl would be married off as quickly as possible to her fiancé." Premarital intercourse is said to be unusual because lineages (and clans) are localized.

As regards secondary marriage, a man may not contract a union with a married woman who is (*a*) a member of his own clan, (*b*) a "close" relation of his mother (that is, presumably, a member of his mother's lineage), (*c*) a member of a primary wife's parental household (it is not clear whether affines of his primary wife are included in this prohibition, or her sisters and cousins who have married out of the household), (*d*) the wife of a member of his own kindred, or (*e*) the wife of a fellow-villager. As has already been pointed out, members of Minyam and Agbat clans are enjoined to seek secondary wives among the wives of fellow-clansmen, within the limits indicated here; members of Aku and Shokwa clans, on the contrary, extend the prohibition described at (*d*), above, to the wives of fellow-clansmen, and take their secondary wives from the men of Minyam and Agbat. According to Meek, secondary marriage-payments amount to 15 shillings cash and one goat (1931); when secondary wives are obtained from neighbouring tribes, marriage-payments commonly follow, rather than precede, "elopement."

[35] In the same paragraph Meek stresses inexplicably that "the father's brother . . . receives the bride-price, part of which only he hands on to the parents of the girl."

[36] The cowrie was discontinued as a medium of exchange in 1919, at *c.* 2,400–3,000 = one shilling, in Zaria City. Whether it is, or was at the time of Meek's investigation, still actually used in marriage negotiations is not clear, at least to the complete exclusion of legal tender. Re marriage payments Meek notes, ". . . members of the same sub-clan frequently assist each other in procuring wives. It it is not uncommon for a man to hand over to a friend the bride-price obtained for his daughter or niece in order that the friend may have the means to provide himself with a wife. The money may be treated as a loan, but is often given as a free gift."

(3)[87] Widow inheritance

(*a*) Inheritance of (man's) father's wife.

(*b*) Inheritance of (man's) " real " brother's wife.

(*c*) Inheritance of (man's) classificatory brother's wife (most commonly within lineage or clan, sometimes within the limits of the *bin*).

In primary marriage, according to Smith, the actual negotiations are never made by the parties concerned: the suitor or his father approaches a matrilineal or affinal relative of the suitor in an appropriate (*niendi*) clan and names the girl-member that interests him; this relative, in turn, seeks out as a second intermediary a fellow clansman more closely related to the girl's father and willing to arrange the marriage. A series of gifts is made by the suitor and his father through the go-betweens to the girl and her parents, and lesser gifts are returned. In the year before the marriage is to take place, the girl's back is cicatrized (see *Initiation*, above): feasts prepared by the suitor's family, and consumed by the girl and her kin in their own village, precede and follow the ordeal. At last, three women (the chief wife of each of the intermediaries, and the wife of a matrilineal kinsman of the bride) take the girl to her husband's compound. According to Smith, " This carrying of the bride to her husband's home . . . is performed by all Kagoro at a set season after . . . Zafan clan at Kadarko . . ." Further rituals, however, occupy several succeeding days before the marriage is consummated.

It is noteworthy that, according to Smith's Kagoro informants, formal courtship occurs during betrothal on visits made by the suitor accompanied by a male friend. They visit the girl's compound after dark, taking a new mat and some tobacco or beer as gifts for her mother and father. No sexual play or intercourse is associated with these visits which take place as often as the suitor desires. Kagoro say that premarital intercourse is rare and premarital pregnancy exceptionally rare. It is particularly shameful if a daughter gives birth in her parents' home, and to avoid this, when an unmarried girl becomes pregnant, the marriage is immediately carried out without any formalities. Which is to say, apparently, that she simply takes up residence in her husband's compound, without any of the ceremony described above, and regardless of the " set season."

The primary marriage of a woman may—and appears often to—serve as a kind of signal to secondary suitors, as they may be termed: " Suitors seeking a girl in secondary marriage first bring the matter to her parents' notice on the day that she has been taken to her first husband's compound." Secondary courtship proceeds much according to the pattern observed for primary: the woman's parents are approached, gifts are exchanged, and courtship visits paid to the woman whenever she returns to her parental compound, as she does periodically, according to a more or less fixed traditional pattern from the very beginning of her marriage. A wife may reject a secondary suitor, however; on the other hand, a really persistent secondary suitor can have his way with her provided she bears her primary husband a child, and the suitor can succeed in kidnapping the infant during the nursing period.

Complete failure to persuade a woman in a secondary suit may result in refunding payments made by the suitor, application for which he makes only as a last resort, however.

As indicated earlier, payments made by a husband secure the membership of his children in his own clan: young children, however, regularly accompany their mother when she takes up residence with successive husbands; this practice has the effect of extending the terms for father and paternal relatives of children to all the husbands of the mother and their relatives. To prevent paternity disputes, a woman was required monthly, for three months after taking up residence

[87] *N.B.*, widows apparently cannot contract new primary marriages.

843 with a new husband, to demonstrate to her father (or guardian) that she was not pregnant, according to Kagoro tradition.

584 587 In general, secondary marriage with formal betrothal is negotiated with the utmost discretion, so that ideally the primary (or current, about-to-be-displaced secondary) husband is presented with a *fait accompli* when his wife takes up residence with a new husband. In practice, however, the husband often knows all too well the true situation, but he is enjoined to suppress any show of jealousy or anger, and instead to treat his rival with the utmost sympathy and respect. It must be stressed that a second marriage does not dissolve the first, and that a wife may return to prior husbands without particular formality.

583 587 Secondary marriage by capture appears to have occurred at least as often without the woman's consent as with: the village of the woman's prior husband usually responded with an attack on the village of the offender, but such a measure was likely to be more or less ineffective if the two villages were separated by one or more other villages, who might be inclined to discourage hostilities, and in the end the affair might be settled by the abductor legitimizing the marriage by payments to the girl's parents; when a wife was captured from a neighbouring village feuding might continue until the wife returned—or was returned—to her own parental compound or to her prior husband's village. Indeed, it appears that wives were taken in this way more frequently from Ataka and Kaje, among neighbouring tribes, who were in turn the major offenders against Kagoro, in this respect: it will be recalled that Kagoro took heads in these tribes. However, it appears that it was practised frequently enough among the ancestors of the groups which compose the present-day Kagoro community to have left its mark on the social structure: Smith conjectures that something like a " normal " *niendi* relationship between clans became in some cases *nendwang*, when one clan took by force a wife from the other.

586 587 As indicated already, marriage cannot be dissolved by any traditional means. Even should a woman's husband die, he is succeeded automatically by a kinsman, though she may choose his successor from among his eligible relatives, and, in fact, she may take up—or resume—residence with another husband when she has spent a " reasonable " period with her inheritor.

586 There have been changes in traditional procedures since Administration. Within the past generation, divorce has been enforced and, accordingly, secondary marriage—" serial polyandry ", that is—has been forbidden. In an effort to reduce paternity disputes, the Moslem custom (*iddat, idda*, etc.) requiring a divorced woman to return to her parents for a period of celibacy lasting three months before consummating a new marriage has been introduced by Administration to replace indigenous practice described. It would appear that in those cases where the secondary suitor can afford to pay the fines, traditional procedures may be followed still; in other cases it seems that Kagoro are indifferent to the European definition of divorce, even when they adhere to the letter of the law.

835 727 587 Kagoro claim that incest between close biological kin is unheard of, though terrible to contemplate. They say also that incest between affines (a man and his brother's wife) was unknown before Administration. Before the advent of the British, a man captured by outsiders was, in effect, declared legally dead, and none, apparently had ever been known to return from captivity; the problem has now arisen of how to provide for the wives of men imprisoned for limited periods for offences against the Administration. The Kagoro solution has been, when the man's sentence is a considerable one, to permit the customary " inheritance " of his wives by his " heirs ", all concerned submitting to ritual purification on his release from prison.

837 684 According to Smith, adultery could occur only with a man from another clan, presumably a *niendi* clan, though he fails to specify, since a member of a *nendwang* clan would be able to contract a secondary marriage, if attracted to a woman. Inter-clan adultery, where not witnessed, is said to be usually confessed by the

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
Kaje

and return to the *gado's* compound, where their mothers anoint them with mahogany oil, and the boys join in a dance with their elders. Then they enter the *abwai* hut as members for the first time, and sleep there for seven nights, when the *gado* may give them various tasks to perform. After this the younger members of the cult act as messengers for the elder members and must do most of the work in building a new hut when required.

Marriage

The types of marriage noted among Kagoro are found also among Kaje. Only the traditional procedure for engagement in certain cases appears to vary significantly. In past times a man could contract a special relationship with an unborn child by a kind of vow made to the child's father: he would declare that if a girl were born, he desired her as his (or a son's) wife,[118] and that if a boy were born he would treat him as a son. To-day arrangements for a girl's marriage will not begin until she is perhaps eight years of age. Small gifts are made by the suitor to the girl's parents and to the girl over a period of years. When the first marriage-payment is made (through collateral relatives related by marriage to both parties), the two parties begin to use the terms husband and wife, and the husband becomes subject to farm labour for his wife's parents: each must also now participate in the lineage rituals of the other; until final payments are made, however, the girl will not spend more than a few days at a time in her husband's compound. The final instalment is, in effect, the signal for the bride's "capture": friends of the husband "abduct" her, hold her for three nights, and then release her to her husband, with whom she then takes up permanent residence.

Premarital relations between young people are, according to Reynolds, not so circumspect as those described by Meek among Katab, and a girl may be having intercourse with a number of lovers at the time of her marriage. Should a girl become pregnant before marriage, she will promptly take up residence with her husband, so that her child will not be born in her father's compound; her husband will thus become the legal father of her child, whatever the biological facts may be.

Secondary marriage proceeds much as among Kagoro. *Iddat*, introduced by Administration, seems only to have slowed down the whole process, thereby tending to reduce litigation over parentage. Marriage-payments are refunded only if no children have been born, and then only on application by the deserted husband, which suggests that in fact annulment only obtains among Kaje, and not divorce. Presumably, however, *iddat* must be submitted to by a woman who wishes to return to an earlier husband. To some extent the discipline of *iddat* may have had the effect of weakening the *abwai* cult.

Reynolds states that a man anxious to hold a childless wife may, with her consent, provide a genitor, who cohabits with her in her husband's compound. Relationship between husband and genitor is not specified by Reynolds: choosing a genitor from another village or tribal section than the husband's might lead to an unwelcome secondary marriage; on the other hand, Reynolds elsewhere notes that intercourse between a man's wife and his brother, real or classificatory, requires ritual purification as a heinous offence.

Death and Burial

Death is believed to be a result of witchcraft,[119] offence against the supernatural, or of accident (which may be a variant of the second). In general, a person dying from a cause which is not apparent to Kaje is judged to be the victim of a witch who

[118] Cf. Jaba, p. 119, below.

[119] The *gado abwai* is apparently the only individual able to inflict death by sorcery (magic) as opposed to witchcraft; but informants insist that no *gado abwai* has resorted to sorcery since the advent of the British.

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
Jaba

SOCIAL STRUCTURE: LOCAL ORGANS OF AUTHORITY

631 At the time of the transfer of Jaba District from Jema'a Division to Zaria Province, in 1934, it was stated that the District comprised "27 villages[125] whose heads are directly responsible to the Pop Ham [chief of Jaba]," a situation comparable to that seen in Moroa; a current list of Village-areas was not accessible in Zaria, but various reports suggest the possibility that a smaller number has emerged in recent years as a result of reorganization.

621 According to Meek, the village constitutes the group within which a man may not seek a secondary wife. He indicates that there are further administrative and social sub-divisions, "wards" (=hamlets? cf. Kagoro, farther above), these being 582 exogamous as well as local groupings; but Cole stresses the fact that "kindreds" (that is, kinship groupings of the largest scale) are dispersed among two or more villages (perhaps sometimes not even contiguous), as a general rule.

621 A report made in 1933 by Barnicot states that in Kachia District Jaba are divided into five "clans" and "six Village-areas." In 1949 Cole gives five Village-areas, each equated with a "kindred." What order of kinship grouping the hamlet constitutes in Kachia is not known.

In Kagarko District, Jaba are found in three Village-areas dominated by other tribal groups; in Yeskwa they are settled with Yeskwa in two Village-areas. In Kagoma-Yeskwa District of Jema'a Emirate (Plateau Province), Kano, Kirti, and Kusan are currently identified by Administration as Jaba; they are separated from Jaba District of Zaria by Kagoma tribal settlement, and it is noteworthy that until 1934, at least, and possibly even more recently, these same villages were labelled Kagoma by all investigators.

692 A Jaba tribal court was organized in Jaba District in 1935, and appears to have been designed to serve the entire Jaba community of Zaria Province, both in and out of the Emirate; but data from Kachia District indicate that Jaba there may have recourse to the local Native Court (Kadara-Kuturmi), on which elders representing all clans of Kachia Jaba sit. On the other hand, decisions taken in Jema'a Emirate with respect to Jaba there are known to have been reversed in conformity with advice given by Pop Ham.

LIFE CYCLE

Birth

775 According to Temple, "the Jaba believe that the souls of the dead can enter the womb of a living woman and be reborn" (but see also *Religious Beliefs*, below).
844 At birth the mother and child are bathed in cold water. On the fourth day the child
553 is taken from its mother's hut and named (by the father if a boy, the mother if a girl) in the presence of the women of the compound. Twins, however, are not named till the seventh day, when elders of the village—and so, presumably, of the large-scale kinship unit—meet to perform the ceremony and partake of a feast provided by the father.

● 584 Temple states that a girl is betrothed at birth, claimed by right by the first eligible man to see her (cf. Katab and Kaje).

Initiation

[304] It is not stated whether circumcision is in fact a practice of Jaba: Meek states
881 only that "initiation rites . . . have no connection with circumcision." Initiation of boys takes place between their ninth and eleventh years. A boy's maternal uncle acts as his sponsor, providing "the preliminary fee of one chicken": Meek fails to indicate, however, whether initiation in effect unites the tribe, at Kwoi, perhaps, or

[125] A total of 27 villages in the District is listed in the Village Directory of the 1931 Census; three of these are recognized by Administration as Lungu. The largest are: Chori (2,219), Kwai (Kwoi) (3,700), Nok (1,080), Samban Gida (1,043).

3: Temple G-4 (no date)1922 FF38 Katab FF38
Kagoma

It has been suggested that they formed part of a large group which migrated from the north-west of Zaria, which includes the Kagoro, Attàkka, Jaba, Kaje, Kaura and Moroa, to whom they show a certain affinity in language, customs and dress. 101

They speak a dialect of their own, and the majority know Haussa also. 197 191

Their Chief, "Dem," pointed out to Osuman, first Emir of Jemaa, the desirability of the site, and voluntarily paid tribute to Zaria through Jemaa. Circ. 1859 A.D. they ceased to pay, and a large proportion of the population were burnt out in caves in the resulting punitive expedition. Small raids continued until 1894, when they were finally subdued by the Filane and acknowledged the suzerainty of the Emir of Jemaa, to whom the Kagoma District head is now responsible. 648 175

The two acknowledged crimes were murder and theft. A murderer was required to give a bull to the bereaved family, whilst a thief was detained until his relatives paid a horse to the Sarkin Jemaa and two goats to his captors. 682 685

They are excellent agriculturists. Boys are given miniature hoes at the age of three years old. 241 524

They are of good physique. 192

The men wear a triangular-shaped leather loin-covering, or a skin that hangs from the shoulder, and bind their beards with grass. They carry wooden swords. 291

Virgins wear an apron of green strings ornamented with cowries and brass bells. Married women wear a loin-cloth. 291 301

Nearly all the villages are situated on the top of the hills, amongst almost inaccessible rocks. The huts are of mud, surmounted by conical-shaped grass roofs. The interior is divided into three partitions by means of mud-arches projecting from the wall.* 361 342

A girl may be betrothed before her birth, the *fiancé* undertaking that should the unborn babe prove to be a boy he will be its friend all through life. Such an arrangement is, however, of rare occurrence, the custom being for a girl to be engaged to the first man who gives her parents a fowl and bespeaks her after her birth. The suitor further gives her father a hoe or 2,000 cowries every year, until the girl has arrived at marriageable age at about ten years; as the marriage day approaches he gives the bride's father a further present of five chickens. On the day itself, six of his boy friends enter her parents' house, where she is hidden amongst the women, find and capture her, and take her to one of the groom's female relations. They return at night, give the custodian a chicken and take the bride to the groom's house, where he is awaiting her with three male friends who proceed to address the young pair on the duties 584 585

* *Vide* Jaba, p. 163.

3:Temple G-4 (no date)1922 FF38 Katab FF38
Kaje

342 are thatched, sloping up at the back to an angle of forty-five
[768] degrees. A house is not re-occupied after the death of either of its owner or of his wife.

596 The family system is patriarchal, and the head of a house has absolute jurisdiction over its members.

769 They worship their ancestors and observe various fetish.
797 The chief priest lives at Kurmin Bi, and the second one to him
767 at Bunkua, but each group shares a common place of worship. Muhammadanism is penetrating amongst them. They are head-hunters.

582 A girl is betrothed at the age of seven, when the suitor gives
584 her father three chickens and 1s. Later on he again gives a hoe, a goat and 10s.; and on the wedding day, when she is about ten years old, pays a final contribution of four chickens.

583 A bag of cowries and two hoes are also an ordinary dower.

A form of capture of the bride is sometimes gone through, but the girl cannot be detained against her will, and the groom returns to give her father the customary presents. Ordinarily her parents take the bride to the groom's house, where he cuts up a goat and distributes its flesh amongst his guests, who then retire. The bride is not allowed the right of refusal, but no steps are taken against her if she leaves her husband. The man to whom she goes pays a further dowry to her parents.

[586] Marriage can be terminated on the repayment of all moneys given.
582 Consanguinity is an absolute bar. If a woman has already had a child, one horse is the price paid for her. Her first three
[836] children belong to her father, but can be redeemed by their own father for a bag of cowries and two goats each. Children are an acknowledged currency, a child of four years old does not command more than one goat.

846 A mother and her new-born child are washed in cold water
553 on the day of its birth. On the fourth day the mother takes her infant outside the house, where it is named in the presence of the women of the household. The father names a boy, the
[845] mother a girl, but the Elders of the village perform that function in the case of twins. They assemble for the purpose on the seventh day and partake of a feast, for which the father provides a goat and beer.

764 When a death occurs, women wail and horns are blown. The corpse is wrapped in a new mat of plaited palm-leaves and men carry it to the grave amid shouting, blowing and drumming, while the women and children remain indoors. The chief priest wishes the spirit of the dead and the bereaved family well, and the body is lowered into a grave shaped like a prayer board, either close to the porch of the house if the deceased had had children, otherwise outside under the shelter of the wall. The corpse is laid on its back, a man's face being turned towards the